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Foreword: The Changing West

In the preface to the "Dynamic West: A Region in Transition", WESTRENDS founding president, Daniel Sprague said, "...effective state governance requires decision-makers anticipate circumstances so policies accommodate, to the greatest extent possible, future needs and conditions." He continued by saying, "Few people in or outside of state government fully appreciate the extent to which, in a decade or less, the state policy arena has been altered."

Now, three years later, it is becoming clear that the state policy arena has been altered beyond any expectations of a decade ago. This is true throughout the United States because of the intentional policies of two administrations to shift much policy-making responsibility from the federal government to the states and the unintentional effects of the huge federal debt. The latter factor has essentially crippled the ability of the federal government to initiate programs or develop policy that will cost money. As a result, the states have gained new roles as much from federal budget paralysis as from any new commitment to federalism.

Whatever the reasons, state leaders have been called upon as never before to produce new revenues, to provide or enhance services formerly associated with the federal government, to be creative and innovative and to do it all as respect and esteem for elected officials hit new lows. What is truly amazing is that, in general, states have risen to the challenge. Governors of both parties have had the political courage to make unpopular fiscal choices. Legislatures, many limited to short sessions and operating with limited staff resources, have plunged into complex policy areas and have done remarkably well.

The challenges and responses of states in the 1980's are nowhere more obvious or pressing than in the West. The 1990 census counts show that the West grew by 22.7% in the 80's. That exceeded the South's 13.9% growth by almost 39%. Percentage growth in the East and the Midwest were well down in the single digits. This fact means that western state policy-makers were wrestling with the greater responsibilities thrust upon all states in the 80's, but doing it under the added pressure of tremendous growth and change.

The 1989 WESTRENDS report was intended to help western state officials and others understand the nature of the changes that were engulfing them. It was the first step toward anticipating future changes and possibly developing methods for dealing with them. WESTRENDS was created in order to have a separate organization serving state policy-makers in the West which concerned itself with trends and foresight, not the problems of the day. The idea, of course, was to have fewer or less severe "problems of the day" as a result.

The single overriding feature of the West is growth. Growth affects virtually every policy area of state government and rapid growth can create a crisis environment in many policy areas. An

examination of the implications of the trends identified in the WESTRENDS report suggested a pattern. They seemed to flow from three clusters which can be characterized as 1) many more people, more diverse people, more high demand people; 2) lack of economic diversity and the related failure to add value to natural resources; and 3) tensions and conflicts caused by competing resource demands, failure to articulate a regional identity or sense a regional cohesion, and conflict about the nature and acceptance of growth.

The policy clusters lead to policy demands in three areas: 1) more bricks, mortar, concrete, parks, water and the like; 2) more personnel to operate and maintain infrastructure and deliver services; and 3) mechanisms for deciding the directions for society's development and the priorities for resource allocations suggested by those directions. This monograph is one in a series of three that examine the major infrastructure needs in the West through the end of the century.

WESTRENDS invites suggestions for improvement in its studies and analyses, and in the selection of topics for its future efforts.

Introduction: Growth and Infrastructure

In the history of the United States, growth has generally been considered good. For most of that history, growth was on the frontier, with new communities and then cities growing up. Resources were plentiful. New people arrived from foreign shores. The nation grew, our power increased and we became rich. All of this took on a certain air of inevitability and even desirability.

While there has been a conservation ethic and a conservation movement in America since the last century, the environmental movement began in the 1960's. It has only been 22 years since the first "Earth Day" in the United States. One effect of the environmental movement has been a far greater tendency to question the assumptions about growth.

We now regularly ask about the environmental impact of new growth and development. We are beginning to assign environmental costs to economic projects. States and local governments are taking much closer looks at other costs of development too.

Governments and supporters of growth have tended to assume that tax revenues generated by growth not only pay for the growth but produce a dividend as well. Depending on local tax structures, some growth may pay for itself, but most does not. In virtually no place does residential growth pay for itself.

It is clear that any local government today, experiencing any degree of growth, will realize that there are significant direct and indirect costs it will have to shoulder. Many have met this challenge with impact fees, heavy exactions for permission to develop, and growth-related tax increases.

The release of 1990 census figures for states confirmed that the West grew twice as fast as the rest of the nation over the past decade. A thoughtful person, no doubt, thinks about the needs for roads, water, sewer, parks and schools implied in those figures. These are generally thought of as local cost and most actually are. But state governments, too, experience great fiscal impact from growth. This monograph, along with two others, will address those predominantly state infrastructure costs occasioned by population growth or policy changes over the next decade.

No area of state infrastructure expense is more apparent than transportation. States have built and maintained the interstate, primary and secondary roads of America, even when federal money is dominant as with the interstate system. In many states, urban freeways often look like parking lots. Mass transit needs are great. Rural roads are essential for rural economic development. Maintenance expenditures on the interstate system are inadequate. The West, with the fastest growing cities, has huge unmet transportation needs from the growth of the past decade. How will it catch up and keep up? What will it cost? Who will pay?

Education is a local concern in 49 of the 50 states. Only Hawaii operates a

statewide school system. For most states, however, significant school revenues are provided by state government, usually based on statutory formulas designed to insure equal educational opportunity. The money to build new schools or renovate old ones sometimes comes from local sources, sometimes from state. In any case, however, states are involved in meeting the K-12 infrastructure demands. They all have primary responsibility for meeting those demands in higher education. How many more students will western states enroll in the 1990's? How many more classrooms will be needed? Where will they come from?

Possibly no area of state infrastructure budgets has grown more rapidly in the past 10 years than prisons. And nowhere was this truer than in the West. If we continue to sentence offenders the way we are today, how many prisoners will we have in 10 years? What will be the cost to house them? What are the alternatives to ever more people sentenced to ever longer terms?

Since there is one capital market and since the citizens of the West will pay through taxes, fees, utility bills and other ways for whatever infrastructure will be built, it is useful to look at the combined picture for the principal areas of infrastructure needs for the region of the West. With this information, all concerned should have a better picture of pending infrastructure needs to the year 2000.

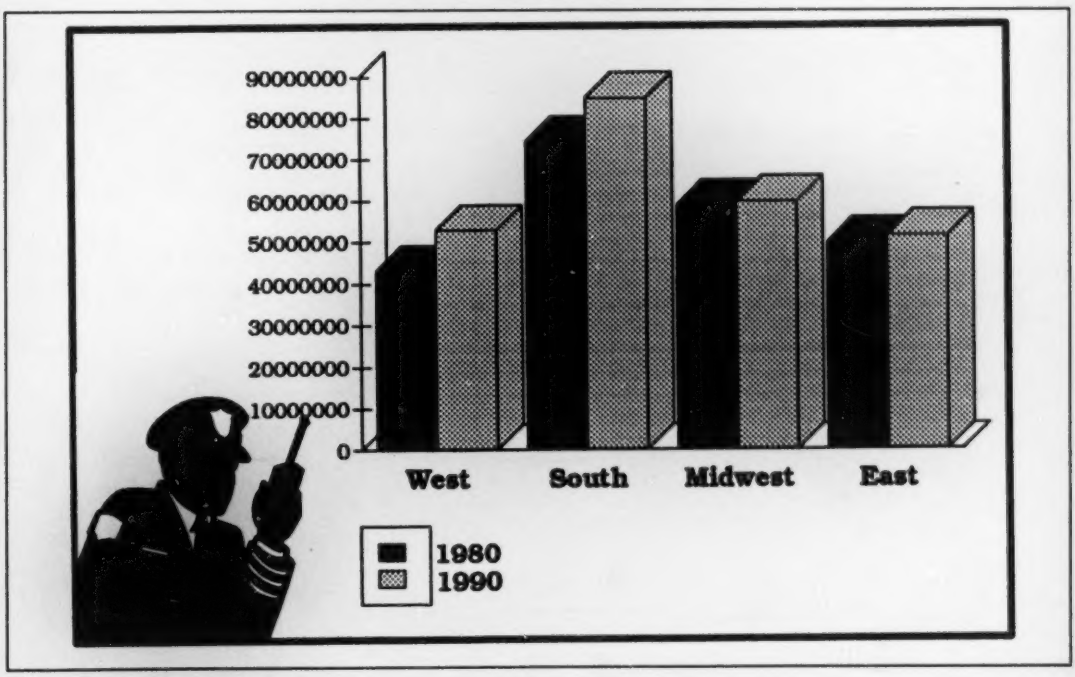
Introduction to Corrections

Western states' prison populations have more than tripled over the past decade, violent crime has increased, and prosecution of drug related crimes has become more common-place. Since 1980, corrections has become the fastest growing segment of states' budgets and western officials find themselves grappling with a seemingly infinite demand for facilities. What is more, limited resources inhibit leaders' ability to provide more public safety options at a reasonable cost.

The trend toward growth in the prison population has been fairly constant since prison population statistics were first officially recorded in 1926. Historically, increases in the number of prisoners reflected growth in the general population. But, prison growth took a decided turn upward in the 1980's, impacting the entire country. In fact, the United States now has the world's highest known rate of incarceration, with 455 prisoners per 100,000 general population. This includes federal and state prisons as well as local jails. Some in jails are serving sentences. Others are awaiting trial. Black males in the United States are incarcerated at a rate of five times that of black males in South Africa. And the total cost of incarcerating the more than one million Americans in prisons and jails is now estimated at $16 billion a year.

The corrections budgets, which include prisons, parole and probation,

Figure 1
Regional Population



are absorbing more state dollars than many other government functions, and corrections spending is growing at a faster rate than other traditional governmental functions. Yet, these resources do not meet the increased need for prisons, jails and community corrections options. The 1990 figures indicate that federal and state correctional institutions housed a record number of prisoners, reaching a total of 771,243 inmates held nationally. This increase brings the total growth in the prison population since 1980 to over 400,000, an increase of nearly 134% over a 10-year period.

Population Growth

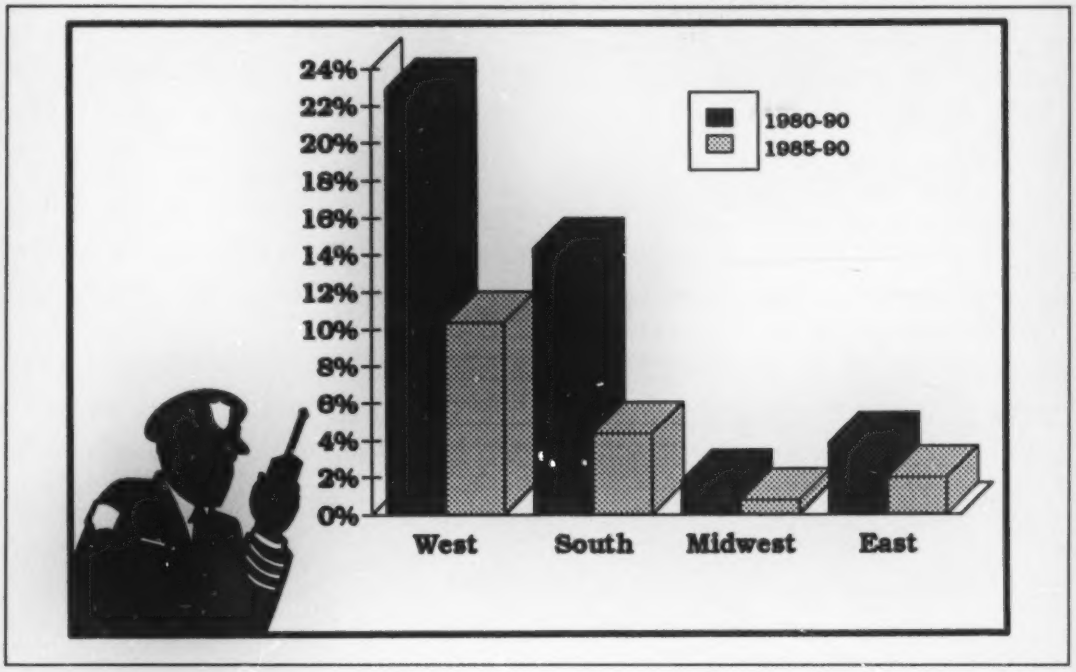
Total U.S. population grew by 10.4% during the 1980's to a total of nearly 250 million people by 1990. Some 85 million of the total lived in the South, the most populous region, and another 53 million lived in the West. In 1980, the West had the lowest regional population. By 1990, it moved ahead of the East, which had just over 51 million inhabitants (Figure 1). The population of the West grew from 19% of total U.S. population in 1980 to 23% in 1990.

In 1990, population varied within the region from 450,000 in Wyoming to nearly 30 million in California, a 60-fold difference (Table 1). Two of the 20 most populous states were in the West. California, by far the largest state in both the nation and the region, was home to 56.8% of the region's total population

Table 1
State Population

State	1980	1990
Alaska	400,142	550,043
Arizona	2,715,357	3,665,228
California	23,532,680	29,760,021
Colorado	2,878,407	3,294,394
Hawaii	964,680	1,108,229
Idaho	943,629	1,006,749
Montana	781,592	799,065
Nevada	800,312	1,201,833
New Mexico	1,295,474	1,515,069
Oregon	2,610,477	2,842,321
Utah	1,458,729	1,722,850
Washington	4,113,331	4,866,692
Wyoming	468,954	453,588
Western Region	42,963,764	52,786,082

Figure 2
Percentage Change in Population by Region



and was six times larger than the next largest western state, Washington.

Most of the growth during the 1980's took place in the South and West, where 20 million of the 23 million new American residents were found (Figure 2). Although the South was the most populated region in the U.S. in 1990, it was the West which experienced the greatest percentage growth in population for both the entire decade and for the last five years of the 1980s. While the West grew by 22%, the South grew over 13.5% in the 1980s, the East experienced modest growth of just under 4% and the Midwest grew by less than 2% for the period.

The West grew faster than any other region from 1980 to 1990 and seven of the ten fastest growing states during the entire decade were located in the region. The region grew nearly twice as fast as the South, almost 13 times as fast as the Midwest, and over 6 times as fast as the East. Growth in the West during the latter half of the decade outpaced other regions as well. From 1985 to 1990, the West grew more than twice the rate of the South, nearly 13 times faster than the Midwest and over 5 times faster than the East.

Although the West as a whole absorbed nearly 10 million new residents over the 1980-1990 period, the pattern of growth or decline varied widely among the states. Population change varied

Table 2
Percentage Change in State Population

State	1980-90	1985-90
Alaska	37.5%	5.6%
Arizona	35.0%	15.0%
California	26.5%	12.9%
Colorado	14.5%	2.0%
Hawaii	14.9%	5.2%
Idaho	6.7%	0.2%
Montana	2.2%	-3.3%
Nevada	50.2%	28.4%
New Mexico	17.0%	4.5%
Oregon	8.9%	5.8%
Utah	18.1%	4.7%
Washington	18.3%	10.4%
Wyoming	-3.3%	-10.9%
Western Region	22.9%	10.4%

from a 50% increase in Nevada to a 3% decline in Wyoming (Table 2). Both Alaska and Arizona grew by more than one third. California grew by 26% and six of the nine remaining states underwent double digit growth.

Population growth patterns varied widely in the West for the latter half of the decade as well. Four of the ten fastest growing states during the last half of the decade were located in the West. Arizona, California and Nevada exceeded the five-year regional average growth rate of 10.4% while Washington's growth equalled the regional average. In contrast to this trend of rapid growth, two western states actually lost population. Both Montana and Wyoming experienced declines in population of 3.3% and 10.9%, respectively. In fact, Wyoming had the largest percentage population decrease of any state nationwide from 1985 to 1990.

Growth in Crime

In 1990, 14.5 million reported crimes took place in the U.S., a nearly 9% increase from the total number of crimes committed in 1980. The West had the second highest regional total in crimes in 1980, 1985 and 1990, trailing only the South (Figure 3). More than 5.3 million crimes were reported in the South in 1990, a 30% increase since 1980.

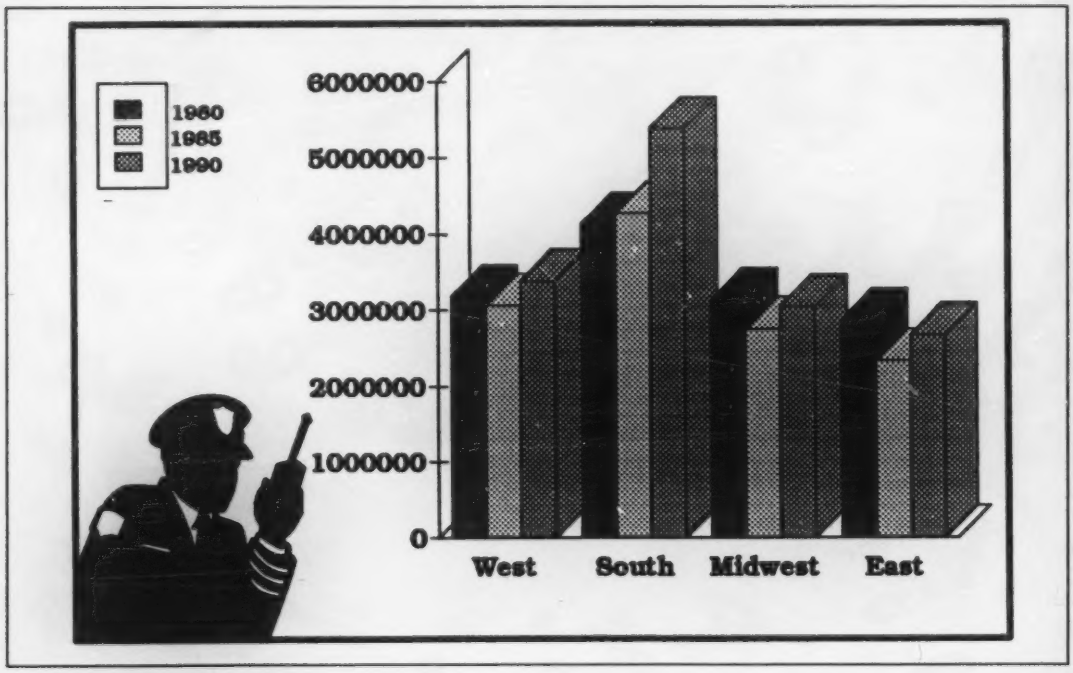
In three of the four regions, the absolute number of crimes reported

decreased in 1985 compared to 1980 and then increased in 1990. The absolute number of crimes increased over both periods in the South. Although fluctuations were relatively small in the West, Midwest and East, the South showed a marked increase in the number of crimes reported during the 1980's.

In 1990, the number of crimes committed varied widely in the western states, from approximately 19,000 in Wyoming to nearly 2,000,000 in California (Table 3). In 1980, only California was among the western states ranked in the top ten nationally for reported crimes. Crimes there comprised 58% of the western regional total in 1980. In 1985, Washington ranked tenth in reported crimes, joining California as the only western states ranked in the top ten nationally. For that year California crimes comprised 56% of the region's reported total. In 1990, California again was the only western state ranked in the top ten nationally, with 58% of the region's total of reported crimes.

Between 1980 and 1990, reported crimes grew in the western and southern regions and declined in the midwestern and eastern regions (Figure 4). For the decade, reported crimes grew almost five times faster in the South than in the West. For the last half of the decade, reported crime grew in every region. The West and Midwest had the lowest regional increase in reported crimes. The

Figure 3
Number of Reported Crimes by Region



South had nearly twice the percentage increase in reported crimes of the East, which ranked second in percentage increase over the last half of the decade.

While reported crimes were growing in the West over both the entire decade and the last half of the decade, patterns of change varied widely among the western states. For the 1980-1990 period, the percentage change in reported crimes in the region varied from a 30% increase in Alaska to an 18% decrease in Wyoming (Table 4). Alaska, Arizona, California, New Mexico and Utah had percentage growth in reported crimes greater than the regional average of 6.5%. Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon experienced declines in the number of reported crimes for the same period.

The percentage change in reported crimes in the region for the last half of the decade ranged from a 27% increase in Arizona to an 11% decrease in Oregon, averaging a 10.3% increase in the region. Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada and Utah had percentage growth in reported crimes greater than the regional average. Only Arizona ranked in the top ten nationally for percentage growth in reported crimes. Five states experienced a decrease in the rate of crimes committed. Alaska joined Colorado, Montana, Oregon and Wyoming with decreases in crime rate ranging from Wyoming's decrease of 6.6% to Oregon's of 11.3%.

The number of reported crimes

Table 3
Reported Crimes by State

State	1980	1985	1990
Alaska	24,849	30,619	28,342
Arizona	221,866	226,793	289,140
California	1,843,332	1,718,473	1,965,237
Colorado	211,087	223,555	199,434
Hawaii	72,180	54,814	67,676
Idaho	45,126	39,276	40,845
Montana	39,271	37,577	35,975
Nevada	70,860	61,538	72,874
New Mexico	77,457	94,050	101,269
Oregon	174,561	180,830	160,478
Utah	85,782	87,470	97,512
Washington	284,436	287,856	302,850
Wyoming	23,384	20,437	19,099
Western Region	3,174,191	3,063,288	3,380,731

committed during the 1980's in the West was lower than historical data would anticipate. Western crime rates declined. Western per capita crime rates decreased from 1980 to 1985 and remained stable in 1990 (Figure 5). Per capita crime rates in the other regions decreased from 1980 to 1985, but then increased again by 1990. The West still had the highest regional per capita crime rates in 1980, 1985 and 1990, though by 1990 the South had nearly achieved the western rate.

In 1980, seven of the top ten states with the highest crime rate per 100,000 population were in the West (Table 5). Arizona, California, Hawaii, and Nevada had crime rates above the regional average, while Wyoming and Idaho had the lowest regional crime rates. By 1990, the West's per capita crime rate actually dropped nearly 1,000 incidences per 100,000 population. The number of western states ranking in the top ten dropped to six and the West was the only region to actually see a decrease in its per capita crime rate from 1980.

Although per capita crime rates have decreased from 1985 to 1990, criminal activity remains a significant problem for the West. More total crimes were reported in the region, including a trend toward increased violence. In 1990, the West reported the highest rate of violent crime in the U.S. with 808 incidences per 100,000 residents. This compares to a national average of 732.

There is no conclusive evidence about

Figure 4

Percentage Change in Reported Crimes by Region

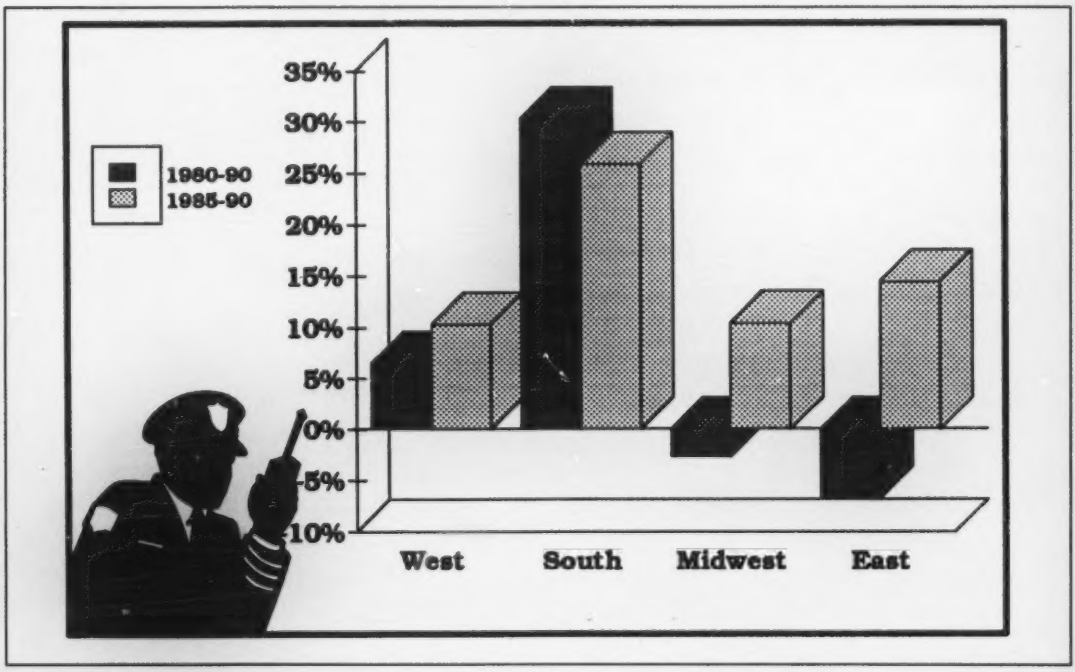


Table 4

Percentage Change in Reported Crimes by State

State	1980-90	1985-90
Alaska	14.1%	-7.4%
Arizona	30.3%	27.5%
California	6.6%	14.4%
Colorado	-5.5%	-10.8%
Hawaii	-6.3%	23.5%
Idaho	-9.5%	4.0%
Montana	-8.4%	-4.3%
Nevada	2.8%	18.4%
New Mexico	30.7%	7.7%
Oregon	-8.1%	-11.3%
Utah	13.7%	11.5%
Washington	6.5%	5.2%
Wyoming	-18.3%	-6.6%
Western Region	6.5%	10.4%

why the West has a significantly higher rate of violent crime than the rest of the country, but some indicators are persuasive. There is, of course, the myth of the frontier that tends to live on in the West. That myth includes rugged individualism and taking matters into your own hands. Does this sort of thinking lead to more violence? Perhaps, but far more persuasive is demographics. Crime in general, and violent crime in particular, is associated with young males, primarily in the 18-25 age group. It is also associated with various manifestations of social instability associated with rapid population growth. The West in the decade of the 80's exceeded the rest of the nation in each of these areas. Throughout the 1980's, the West had a larger percentage under 18, which grew into the most crime-prone ages in the decade. Also, the West dramatically led the nation in immigration, both from foreign countries and from other states. Overall western population growth, including the absorption of large numbers of people from other cultures, was double that of the nation. That sort of rapid growth means many communities undergoing stress, dislocation, weaker community and family ties, all resulting in weaker social controls. The frontier was a relatively lawless place because it was where national change was most prominent. The West is where change is greatest today and so is crime.

State Prison Admissions

In 1980, the U.S. prison system housed slightly more than 500,000 inmates. By 1990, it housed more than one million, a 111% increase in the total number of sentenced inmates. This brings the national average of sentenced inmates per 100,000 residents from 139 in 1980 to 293 in 1990.

Prison admissions grew in all four regions from 1980 to 1989 (Figure 6). Throughout the decade, the South, with the highest admission rate, had a rate approximately twice as large as the East, which consistently had the lowest regional admission rate. In 1980, the West had the second lowest regional admission rate. By 1985, the West trailed only the South in the number of admissions, a position maintained in 1989.

From 1980 to 1989, admissions increased in all western states (Table 6). The pattern of increase varied throughout the region, with most of the states showing increases from 1980 to 1985 and then again from 1985 to 1989. Only Hawaii, Montana, and New Mexico increased from 1980 to 1985, only to decrease in 1989.

In 1980, two western states ranked in the national top ten for incarceration rates. The remaining top ten were all located in the South. In 1985, two western states were again ranked in the national top ten for incarceration rates. Seven of the remaining eight states were in the South. By 1989, three western states ranked in the national top ten for

Figure 5
State Crimes Per Capita by Region

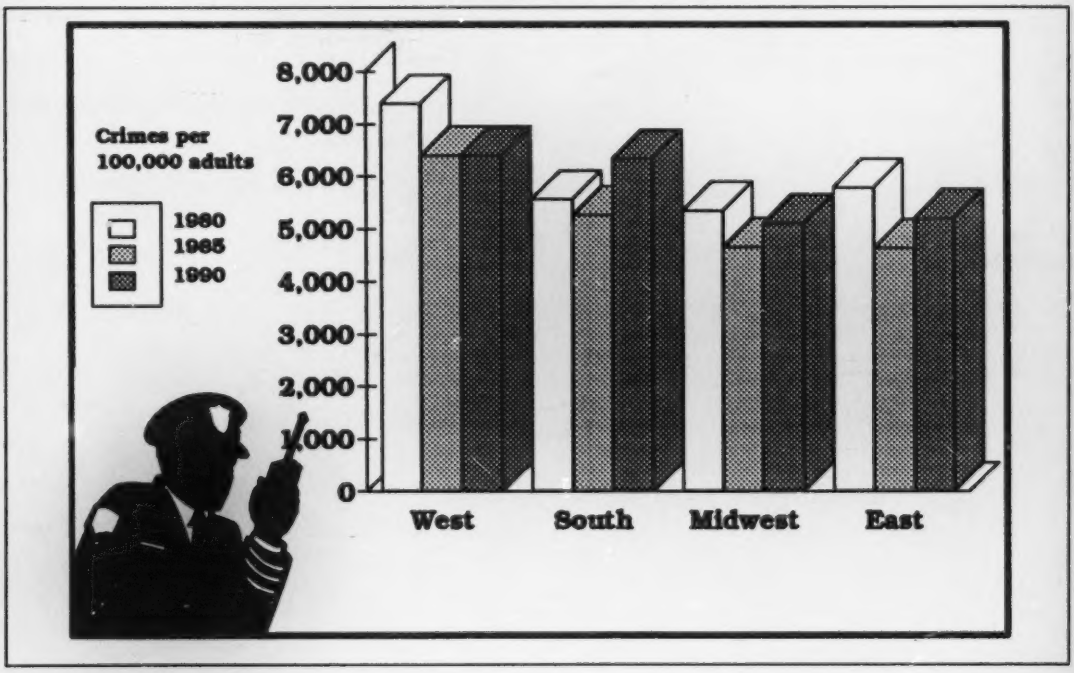


Table 5
Reported Crimes Per 100,000 Adults by State

State	1980	1985	1990
Alaska	6210	5877	5153
Arizona	8171	7116	7889
California	7833	6518	6604
Colorado	7333	6919	6054
Hawaii	7482	5201	6107
Idaho	4782	3908	4057
Montana	5024	4549	4502
Nevada	8854	6575	6064
New Mexico	5979	6486	6684
Oregon	6687	6730	5646
Utah	5881	5317	5660
Washington	6915	6529	6223
Wyoming	4986	4015	4211
Western Region	7388	6405	6405

the highest incarceration rates. Six of the remaining seven states were in the South.

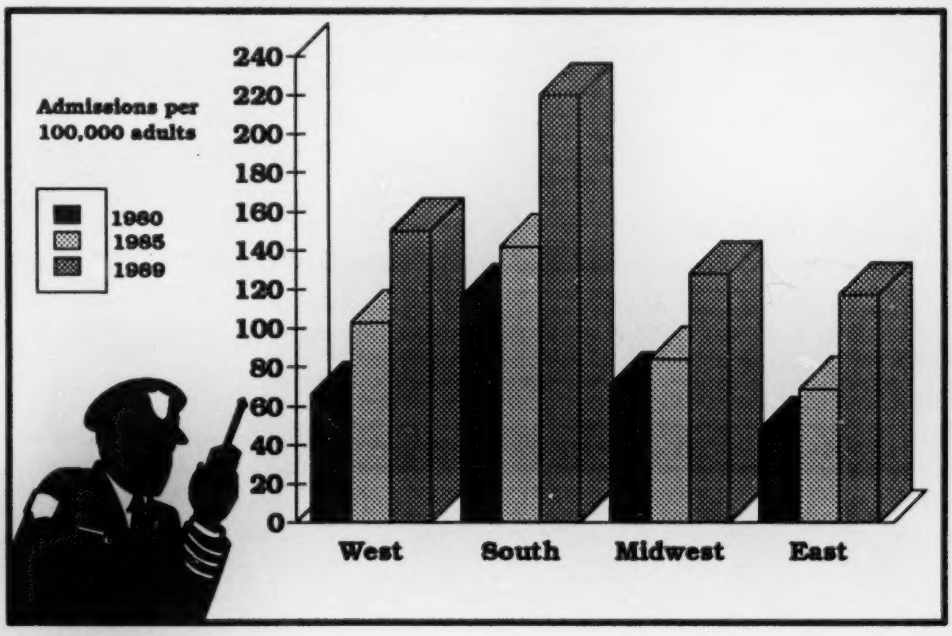
These increases may be attributed to a variety of factors and some evidence indicates that changes in criminal justice policies during the 1980-1990 period have increased a criminal's probability of being incarcerated. Now, many of the most violent crimes like murder, rape, and aggravated assault carry with them mandatory sentences.

In fact, several factors have contributed to the increasing incarceration rates. Responding to public outcry about increased crime, legislatures around the country increased penalties for crimes and reduced judicial discretion in sentencing. This meant that a criminal was more likely to serve time in the 1980's compared to the 1970's, and that the time served would be longer. In California, the people by initiative toughened sentencing laws.

Two other factors have affected incarceration rates. One is recidivism. As an example, in 1990, 77.5% of the prison admissions in Oregon were returnees, either parole violators or newly sentenced. The rate of returnees to western prisons in the 1980's increased by 953% compared to 344% nationally. It is clear that drugs were a major factor, but it is not clear why the rate of returnees increased so much faster in the West.

On a national basis, there were 62 prison commitments for every 1,000

Figure 6
State Prison Admissions by Region



violent crimes reported in 1960. By 1970, this ratio had declined until it reached 23 per 1,000 crimes reported, where it remained fairly stable until the early 1980's. From then it increased again to 62 commitments per 1,000 crimes by 1989, meaning an equal number of crimes was producing three times the prisoners as in 1970.

Violent crimes account for approximately one half of all commitments and another 20-35% of commitments are drug related. Many states now require mandatory sentencing for drug violations, increasing the number of prisoners held for drug related crimes from 10% to roughly 30% during the 1970 to 1986 period. One manifestation of this crackdown is demonstrated by law enforcement officials' increased supervision of parolees. Offenders are subjected to drug testing more frequently than in the past. Additionally, states have dramatically increased the number of laws related to drug use and sale. Not only are there more laws on the books, these laws increase penalties associated with drug offenses.

Prison Population Growth

Prison populations grew in all four regions throughout the decade Figure 8). The West had the fastest growing regional prison population over the entire decade as well as over the last half of the decade. It experienced a three-

fold increase in the number of state prisoners, a growth rate more than twice that of the South. By 1985, the West's prison population had surpassed the East's and by 1990 had surpassed the Midwest's to become the second largest regional population after the South's.

The South's prison population was approximately twice that of any other region throughout the decade. It was the slowest growing region over the decade with a 94% increase in prison population. The West added over 100,000 new prisoners for a three-fold increase. The Midwest and East followed by adding roughly 80,000 new prisoners each and increased their prison population totals by 121% and 132% respectively.

In 1980, the South had five of the 10 largest state prison populations. By 1990, it had only three. Texas, Florida, and Georgia were included in the top ten largest prison populations for 1980, 1985, and 1990. The Midwest had three of the largest populations throughout the 1980's. The East moved up from one to three states with the largest prison population in the same period with New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey making the rankings for 1985 and 1990. California was the only western state in the national top ten states in 1980, 1985, or 1990.

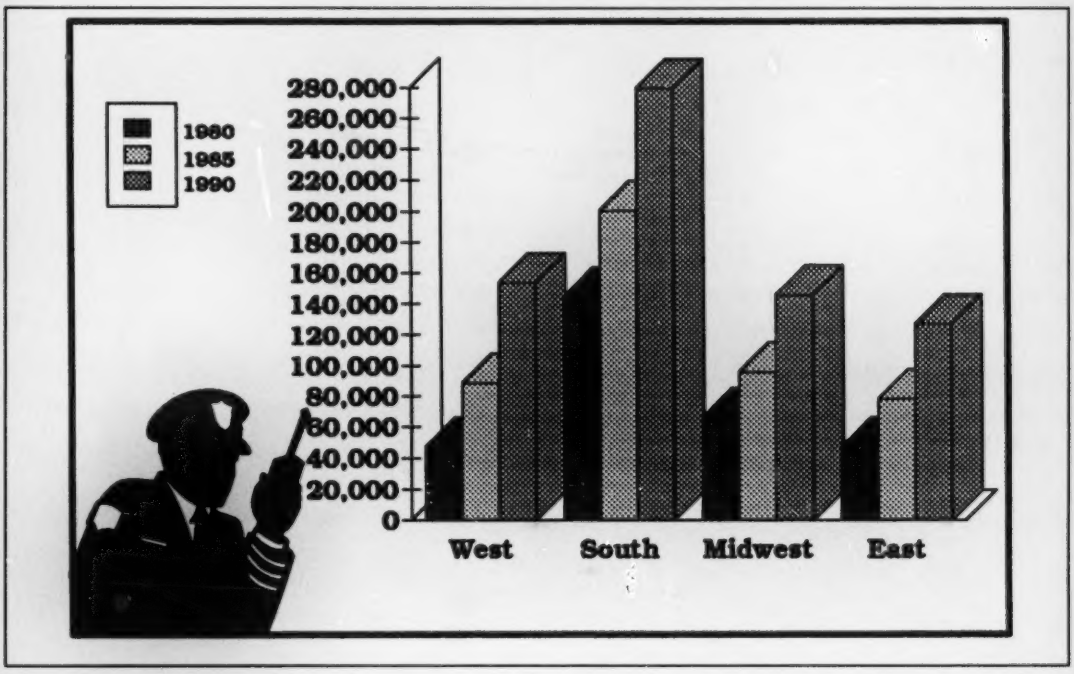
Prison populations grew in all western states over the entire decade, as well as the last half of the decade. For the 1980-1990 period, five of the 10 fastest growing state prison populations were in

Table 6

Prison Admissions Per 100,000 Adults by State

State	1980	1985	1989
Alaska	115	235	262
Arizona	97	140	204
California	66	107	162
Colorado	55	82	111
Hawaii	28	49	32
Idaho	78	89	124
Montana	55	64	57
Nevada	136	206	302
New Mexico	53	137	136
Oregon	83	108	139
Utah	39	51	69
Washington	46	58	100
Wyoming	71	102	104
Western Region	66	103	150

Figure 7
Prison Population by Region



the West (Table 8). For the 1985-1990 period, four western states were among the top ten national prison populations in terms of growth.

The state prison populations vary widely, from over 97,000 in California to approximately 1,100 in Wyoming, nearly a 100-fold difference. California's prison population comprised 52%, 56%, and 63% of the regional total in 1980, 1985, and 1990, respectively. For the entire decade, only California and Arizona exceeded the average growth rate for western state prison populations (Table 8). For the last half of the decade, California and Colorado were the only two states to exceed the average western state prison population growth rate. Both of these instances point out the tremendous impact that changes in California's prison population have on the total regional prison population and on the average growth in western state prison populations.

Women In Prison

While both male and female prison populations grew rapidly during the late 1980's, increases in women's prison populations outpaced those of men. In 1989, there were more than 40,500 women incarcerated in state and federal prisons, an increase of more than 27,000 female inmates since 1980. Some 8,000 new prisoners were added to the rolls in 1989 alone. The 24% increase in 1989

Table 7
Prison Population by State

State	1980	1985	1990
Alaska	822	2,329	2,622
Arizona	4,372	8,531	14,261
California	24,569	50,111	97,309
Colorado	2,629	3,369	7,018
Hawaii	985	2,111	2,533
Idaho	817	1,294	2,074
Montana	738	1,129	1,425
Nevada	1,839	3,771	5,322
New Mexico	1,461	2,313	2,961
Oregon	3,170	4,454	6,436
Utah	932	1,633	2,503
Washington	4,382	6,909	7,995
Wyoming	534	758	1,110
Western Region	47,250	88,712	153,569

brought the total growth in the national female prison population between 1980 and 1989 to over 200%. This compares to male prison population growth of 112% for the same period.

In 1989, 41% of female offenders had been incarcerated for violent crime compared to 49% in 1979. Nearly 25% of the women were incarcerated for homicide compared to only 6% of the male prison population. Females incarcerated for violent crime victimized males 61.4% of the time and were more likely than men to report having a close relationship with the victim.

In addition to homicide, prison officials point to drug offenses and stiff mandatory sentencing laws as the primary causes for the increases in the number of women in prison. Based on the latest prisoner survey statistics from 1986, 59% of the state female prison population was incarcerated for non-violent crime and the Federal Bureau of Prisons reports that 60% of women in their custody are serving time for drug offenses.

The same criminal justice policies which increased male offenders' probability of being incarcerated during the 1980's impacted the female prison population as well. In 1980, only 11 women per 100,000 resident population were incarcerated compared to 31 women of every 100,000 in 1990. In 1990, women comprised 5.7% of the total prison population.

The female prison population differs from the male population. Presently there are few women's facilities and those that do exist often do not meet the

special needs of female prisoners. Mothers are separated by long distances from their children and few programs exist which provide adequate prenatal care for the 10% of women who enter prison pregnant. Testing and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS are far less frequent for women than they are for men. Additionally, fewer programs which prepare women to return to the workforce are available for women prisoners.

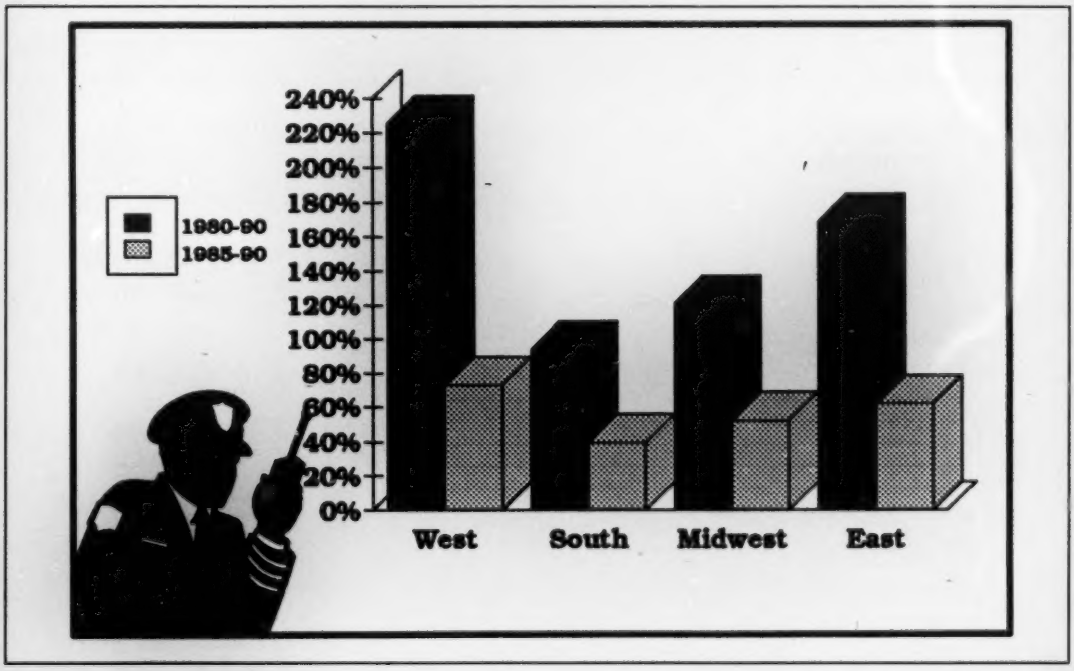
Costs Of Incarceration

Between 1960 and 1985, state spending for corrections more than tripled, growing 218%. This increase is greater than spending increases during the same period for education, public welfare, hospitals, health care, highways or law enforcement. Moreover, reported crime increased dramatically from 1985 to 1990 and corrections related spending soared, placing extraordinary pressure on already overcrowded prison facilities and state budgets (Table 9). According to the American Correctional Association's (ACA) 1990 directory, from 1985 to 1989 43 states opened 154 new adult correctional facilities. During that time, about 89,000 prison beds were added to the states' capacity and new projects were planned which would house an additional 108,000 adult inmates. These new projects alone are estimated to cost over $4 billion.

These numbers certainly exemplify the aggregate costs of prison growth. But

Figure 8

Percentage Change in Prison Population by Region



what do these numbers mean for communities and their leaders? When the GAO compared federal and state prison construction and operations costs for new medium security prisons, they found that state prison construction costs averaged roughly $55,000 per prison bed. Daily operational costs averaged $42.38 per day or just over $16,000 annually. But these costs could vary for a variety of reasons, particularly prison location.

The study, which included 32 state prisons, found that prisons located in the West cost over two and one half times as much per bed as those in the South and were more costly than the prisons located in the Northeast and Midwest. The average cost per bed for the West's prisons was $73,814, nearly $20,000 more than the national average.

In California, for example, a level II or low-medium security prison would cost $85,000 per bed based on 1993 estimated dollars. A level III or high-medium security prison, which utilizes a more costly architectural design, costs $105,000 per bed. Colorado's medium security infrastructure costs run at $75,000 per bed and costs are $84,000 in Nevada. These costs do not reflect only the construction costs of cells, but also other facilities for programs such as training and recreation.

If the western prison population grows in absolute numbers as greatly as it grew from 1980 to 1990, western state leaders can expect to add another 106,000 prisoners to the present prison popula-

Table 8
Percentage Change in Prison Population by State

State	1980-90	1985-90
Alaska	219.0%	12.6%
Arizona	226.2%	67.2%
California	296.1%	94.2%
Colorado	167.0%	108.3%
Hawaii	157.2%	20.0%
Idaho	153.9%	60.3%
Montana	93.1%	26.2%
Nevada	189.4%	41.1%
New Mexico	102.7%	28.0%
Oregon	103.0%	44.5%
Utah	168.6%	53.3%
Washington	82.5%	15.7%
Wyoming	107.9%	46.4%
Western Region	225.0%	73.1%

tion by the year 2000.

Alternately, if western prison population were to grow in terms of absolute numbers at the rate it has grown from 1985 to 1990 (a period of increased crime and stricter enforcement policies), the West will add nearly 130,000 new prisoners to its present population by the turn of the century.

Both of these numbers represent a large increase in the absolute prison population. Using the 1985-1990 figure projected over the 1990-2000 period, growth translates into the need for 13,000 new prison beds per year for the next 10 years or the need for 260 new 500-bed prisons over the next decade. It should be noted that the 500-bed prison is recognized as the corrections industry standard. If we use the GAO's $74,000 per bed figure, the new demand for western prisons and beds carries with it a price tag of $9.6 billion!

California's potential prison expenditures will likely be the greatest of the western states, totalling almost $7 billion over the next ten years (Table 10). If Arizona's crime and incarceration policies continue to grow at previous levels, they may see infrastructure expenditures upwards of $850 million. Colorado, Oregon and Nevada could round out the top five western states with projected expenditures of $540 million, $293 million, and $230 million respectively.

Table 9
Reported Federal and State Prison Capacities
Year-end 1990

State	Capacities			Population as a Percent	
	Rated	Operational	Design	Highest Capacity	Lowest Capacity
Alaska	2,808	***	***	93%	93%
Arizona	***	13,884	***	103%	103%
California	***	***	52,698	185%	185%
Colorado	***	6,120	4,605	115%	152%
Hawaii	***	2,141	1,577	118%	161%
Idaho	***	1,845	1,586	104%	121%
Montana	1,079	1,407	1,079	101%	132%
Nevada	5,406	5,406	4,394	98%	121%
New Mexico	3,225	3,596	3,225	82%	92%
Oregon	***	6,170	***	103%	103%
Utah	***	2,911	3,032	83%	86%
Washington	5,411	6,446	6,446	124%	146%
Wyoming	793	795	614	140%	181%

Alternatives

Policy-makers are faced with the difficult task of responding to high crime rates and often the most concrete, visible and politically expedient choice is to enact a harsher penalty or build a bigger prison. Increasingly, however, other options are being stressed as budget pressures increase. One option garnering support from both ends of the political continuum is the idea of prevention and early intervention. This involves the redirection of funds earmarked for prison construction into human services which support at-risk individuals in the areas of education, job training, health care, drug and alcohol treatment, and housing programs.

Alternatives to incarceration provide tangible solutions to prison overcrowding without unduly jeopardizing public safety. While they do not address the roots of criminal intent, they offer ways to alleviate the current overcrowding problem and offer potential cost savings to states.

In Delaware, a study was conducted comparing the cost of housing a prisoner in a traditional prison setting with the costs associated with alternative sentences. Prison costs in this study were estimated to be $17,761, just over the GAO's average estimate of $15,500. Each of four alternate programs proved itself to be less expensive than traditional prison sentences. For example, work release programs cost an average of $11,556 per prisoner, house arrest costs $3,332, intensive supervision costs $2,292 and regular probation was estimated at $569.

Table 10

Projected Cost of New Prison Construction by State 1990 - 2000

State	Projected Cost
Alaska	$43,364,000
Arizona	$848,000,000
California	$6,985,304,000
Colorado	$540,052,000
Hawaii	$62,456,000
Idaho	$115,440,000
Montana	$43,808,000
Nevada	$229,548,000
New Mexico	$95,904,000
Oregon	$293,336,000
Utah	$128,760,000
Washington	$160,728,000
Wyoming	$52,096,000

Other studies like California's Blue Ribbon Commission report on Inmate Population Management have recommended policy and program changes which will restore equilibrium to an overburdened and expensive corrections system. A comprehensive listing of the Commission's report is beyond the scope of this report, however several options merit consideration.

According to the report, several categories of persons should be considered for alternative sentencing options. These include juvenile offenders whose crimes are not serious, the mentally ill, drunk drivers, and bad check writers.

Suggested alternative sentencing options can range from those which restrict freedom minimally to more intensively restrictive programs. For example, community service programs require the offender to repay society by working as a volunteer. Alternately, an offender may be charged a fine instead of serving jail time. More specifically, day-fines may be imposed as a percentage of the offender's daily earnings.

Intensive probation supervision programs act as a means to provide more control over offenders while they remain within the community. Programs focus offenders' behavior into more productive and less threatening behavior. These programs include strict curfews, obligatory employment, mandatory counseling, community service, and restitution to victims, and require the offender to remain alcohol and drug free during the tenure of probation.

House arrest programs confine offenders to their homes. Offenders are not allowed to leave home except for employment purposes, medical reasons, or to attend religious services. Close surveillance and control is provided to help assure that offenders actually stay in their homes. Many times electronic monitors are used to determine if the offender has remained at home. Studies indicate that electronic monitoring is most often used as an alternative to probation and parole for misdemeanants and low-risk felons and monitoring costs are approximately $4,000 while incarceration costs are estimated to be near $20,000.

More intensive options include boot camp training which resembles military training programs. Intensive work and physical conditioning are followed by intensive supervision within the community. Similarly, wilderness challenge programs are designed to present physical and mental challenges for youthful offenders and to teach them a sense of responsibility as well as to help improve self-esteem.

Prison alternatives offer viable options for a significant number of offenders who commit less serious crimes. No comprehensive cost analyses have been conducted which specify the exact cost savings brought about by these programs, but they do merit attention as overcrowded prison conditions increase and budget constraints force policymakers to consider alternatives to incarceration.

Summary

There is perhaps no better example in the public policy arena of the adage that actions have consequences than the field of corrections. Quite apart from questions about education, health care and family support programs and their relationship to crime, it is clear that longer prison sentences, greater incidence of prison sentences and stricter parole supervision all mean increased prison populations. These changes all came about because of policy changes, most made by state legislatures responding to their constituencies.

What has not been as clear to those constituencies is that in an era of flat or even shrinking revenues, the corrections budgets continue to grow, leaving less and less for education, health care, recreation and all the other things people have come to expect from government. For perspective, consider that the entire capital outlays for the western states in 1990 was $7.6 billion. Holding 1990 dollars constant through the decade, that would mean that almost 13% of every capital dollar expended by western states in the decade will go to prison construction. At the same time, corrections operating budgets in the West from 1989 to 1991 have increased an average of 17% per year. Overall state expenditures increased about 10% in those same years. The obvious policy question is how long can corrections expenditures increase so much faster than overall expenditures. Corrections accounted for four percent of state spending in 1991. At its current rate of growth compared to overall spending growth, that could double to eight percent in 10 years.

There is no proper percentage of state expenditures for corrections. It is whatever the citizens of a state think is necessary. What this study has sought to show is simply that there is a distinct trend nationally, and far more so in the West, toward an ever greater percentage of state construction and operating money going to prisons. To the extent that other expectations will not be met as a result, this is critical information for policy-makers and those they represent.

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